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Notes.

Maulana Mahomed Ali—I observe that the *Indian Social Reformer* rates me for not having said anything about Maulana Mahomed Ali's speech at Madras, and not having criticised Lala Lajpat Rai's at Bombay. I must not answer the inferences and the innuendoes contained in the paragraph. Let us not know under what difficulties I edit *Young India*. I rarely read newspapers. I cannot even get them during my incessant travelling. But having read this criticism, I purposely procured at Allahabad a copy of the Moulana's speech. I have only just read it. I have twice read the paragraph criticised, and I am of opinion that it contains nothing in it that is objectionable. The speech is certainly not inconsistent with his interview at Allahabad. In the Madras speech, he simply states the Muslim position. In the Allahabad interview, he has accepted my application and restriction of the real Muslim conduct. There is no doubt that if the Mussalmans could take up arms, they would do so in defence of Islam. The difficulty arises because of our belief in the impossibility of the Afghans invading to defeat the British without wishing at the same time to occupy India. That may be and will be a good reason for the Afghans, if they are true to India, not joining the Afghans even if they were able. But we may dispute the theoretical religious right of the Mussalmans to state their correct position. We can only honour them for it. The two great qualities the brothers are their bravery and sincerity. And I can read nothing but these two qualities in a Madras speech.

Lala Lajpat Rai—Let me take the *Indian Social Reformer* into the secret of my methods. My assistant drew my attention to the hostile criticism of Lalaji's speech and asked me whether I wished to say anything upon it. I had not the text of his speech before me, nor had seen any criticism. I therefore wrote to Lalaji, asking him to enlighten me on the matter, and suggesting that he should apologise, if a single silly word was uttered. It has been my privilege to have close acquaintance to find him generous, forgiving and frank. He said in his letter that his speech was a specially considered utterance, and that he had not attacked any person in it. He had fully dealt with the action of the Moderates as a

party. He sent me the cutting for my opinion. This was whilst I was in Sindh. I was unable to read it and had forgotten all about it, till the *Reformer's* rebuke reminded me of it. I have now read Lalaji's speech and have much pleasure in stating that I find nothing offensive or discourteous in it. It is undoubtedly in Lalaji's fighting style. It is a party speech. He has adopted, by long residence in the west, the western form of criticism. But it is best western form. There is nothing vulgar in it. His charges are not unjustified by the conduct of the Moderate ministers. His worst charge is that they have merged themselves in the bureaucracy. It is a serious charge to make, but the instances adduced by him surely prove it. The Moderates may retort, if they choose, that outsiders cannot appreciate the difficulties of the ministers. But that is just what proves the error of the great leaders who find themselves allied with the Government. They should have known that such would be their lot, or they should now know by experience, that it is no use being ministers, until they have an effective control over the Government policy. All the repression that is now going on, is almost as bad as before. It makes little difference that now there is the farce of a trial. The fact is, that most of the political sections of the Penal Code are such as to bring almost every non-co-operation speech under them. I believe that if I was charged, I should have to plead guilty to the charge of sedition. It is the duty of a non-co-operator to preach disaffection towards the existing order of things. Non-co-operators are but giving disciplined expression to a nation's outraged feelings. I should like to see a considered reply to Lala Lajpat Rai's strong indictment. In my humble opinion, the speech of Lala Lajpat Rai does not betray any loss of temper, and is quite in keeping with the advice he tendered the youth of the country in his concluding paragraphs.

'A Messenger of God'—I have received a cutting, in which I am reported to be credited with being a messenger of God, and I am asked whether I claim to have any special revelation from God. I have already dealt with the miracles attributed to me. As to this the latest charge, I must disown it. I pray like every good Hindu. I believe that we can all become messengers of God, if we cease to fear man and seek only God's Truth. I do believe I am seeking only God's Truth and have lost all fear of man. I therefore do feel that

God is with the movement of Non-co-operation. I have no special revelation of God's will. My firm belief is that He reveals himself daily to every human being but we shut our ears to the 'still small voice.' We shut our eyes to the Pillar of Fire in front of us. I realise His omnipresence. And it is open to the writer to do likewise.

A Sindh Critic—It gives me pleasure always to have criticism from Sindh. It is always searching and always courteous. Sindh suffers from the surfeit of western education, and therefore the youths of Sindh readily command my sympathy. They are bewildered to find themselves in the maze of western ratiocination. I must therefore try patiently to answer Mr. Jethmal's open letter, especially as I claim him to be one of my earliest comrades in Satyagya and knew him to be a leader of forlorn causes. I do believe in self-determination. Mr. Jethmal does not know that the Mussalmans do not claim Palestine for the Turks as against the Arabs. They claim Mussalman control of Jazirat-ul-Arab of which Palestine is but a part. They would not mind if it was restored to the Arabs without any outside interference. Mr. Jethmal must know that the present population of Palestine is overwhelmingly Mussalman. He should also know that the British mandate is to-day being imposed upon Palestine and Mesopotamia in the teeth of fierce Arab opposition.

Unlike Mr. Jethmal, I do believe in the distinctive character of the different scriptures. I cannot be party to putting a strain upon the scriptural loyalty of the Mussalmans, where it is not in conflict with reason and justice.

But I am one with Mr. Jethmal, in his fear of theocratic priesthood and its interpretations often given to suit occasions. The Mussalman claim is not based on Futwahs, but on a Quranic injunction which a child can understand. The Mussalman claim is again based upon justice, even apart from the scriptural authority. Jazirat-ul-Arab was under Mussalman control before war. No right has accrued to the Christians or the Jews over it, as against the Mussalmans of the world in general and of India in particular. The British mandate is an act of treachery towards Indian Mussalmans and of pillage against the world's Mussalmans.

I must not appropriate the easy compliment Mr. Jethmal pays me, of attributing to me the courage of saying that I differ from Shri Krishna in the matter of violence. I have the courage of saying that Krishna never taught violence in the Gita. My interpretation of the Gita is, that it has based a religious teaching on a historical incident, and that it does not deal with an earthly war but it deals with the ceaseless spiritual war going on in the human Kurukshetra. I can understand the Nirdwandha teaching on no other hypothesis. A man who is free from the action of the pairs of opposites, is incapable like the perfect man of the Bible, of injuring any living thing on earth. He kills himself so truly that there is no rebirth for him.

But a non-co-operator is not concerned with this part of my personal belief. He is bound to believe in non-violence as the only true policy for the removal of the threefold fever of India.

In spite of my firm faith in absolute *Ahimsa* i. e. innocence, I could reconcile myself to Kheda recruiting. My *Ahimsa* teaches me that I cannot carry the world with me by force of arms. I will not cut off the hands of my children for fear of their hurting others. A man is innocent when he is able to do harm and refrains. India's soldiers must have arms, so long as they believe in violence. I invited during the recruiting campaign, those who believed in violence, to join the battle and not to keep away, because they had a grievance against the Government, as they were inclined to do. I was against bargaining with the Government as I am against bargaining at any time.

I do not anticipate a time in India or the world, when all will be followers of *Ahimsa*. Police, there will be even in Satya Yuga. But I do contemplate a time, when in India we shall rely less on brute force and more, much more, on soul force,—when the Brahman in man will hold supremacy.

Now it must not be difficult for Mr. Jethmal to appreciate my alliance with the Ali Brothers. I believe them to be men of their word, as honourable as any I have had the privilege of meeting. It is enough for me to know that they observe the vow of non-violence, whilst they are in the movement of non-co-operation. They will no more prefer Afghan rule to British rule than Mr. Jethmal does. I believe that time will enable them to see that India can never, not at any rate within a generation, be free by violence. I believe that India and Khilafat can be free during this very year, if India responds to the simple programme sketched in these pages from time to time.

Sannyasi—A pleader who has suspended practice asks whether every non-co-operator should become a *Sannyasi* and renounce the world. I fear, this question has been asked because I appear to lead the life of a *Sannyasi*, whereas the renunciation required by the Non-co-operation programme is infinitely less than was required of thousands of Boer women and children during the Boer war, and of thousands of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans during the late war. Great success is possible for us with so little renunciation, only because our programme is non-violent, our cause absolutely just, and we are so many.

A Defendant's plight—The friend further inquires, what a man who is falsely sued is to do. Well, those who have been falsely charged by the Government have gone to gaol. Those who are falsely sued may, if the plaintiff will not go to private arbitration, make a statement and produce even witnesses without engaging a lawyer. He is likely to have judgment in his favour. But at the worst he runs the risk of having to pay a blackguard. Surely wrong judgments have been given before now in spite of the assistance of the ablest lawyers.

Doubting National Capacity—The third question is, "Do you believe that the constructive part of the Non-co-operation programme can attain success without our having a national Government?" This question betrays helplessness. We are delayed in the attainment of our goal, only because of this feeling of helplessness. We shall attain Swaraj, only when we feel self-reliant. Even a national Government will have to be the nation's creation; not the nation, the Government's. Why should we not stop drink without the aid of the Government, why should we not be able to boycott foreign cloth without the Government's aid? Non-co-operation enables us to show that in every thing that matters, we can be independent of the Government. A Government is an agency set up by the people. The principal has the right to non-co-operate with the agent, when he proves faithless. When on the contrary the principal feels helpless, he becomes his agent's slave. Such is our present position and we must get rid of it at any cost.

Contemplating postponement—The last question of the friend is, "In case the call of the Congress does not meet with adequate response, will the attainment of Swaraj be proportionately postponed?" I dread to contemplate postponement because it betrays distrust in the nation. Somehow or other I feel that the nation will respond in time. But the logical answer to the question undoubtedly is, that if the nation does not make an adequate response to the programme, attainment of our goal is likely to be delayed.

The Curse of Betting—Babu Bhagwandas, the learned chancellor of the National University Kashi, has sent me extracts from Manusmriti on the sin of betting. I reproduce them below:

"The King should diligently keep gambling (*dyluta*) and betting (*samahvaya*) away from the state; for these two vices destroy the State and the sovereign themselves. (221)

Gambling and betting are indeed as daylight robbery; and the ruler should endeavour diligently to eradicate them. (222)

That wherein inanimate things are used, that is *dyluta*, gambling; that wherein, living things are used, that is *samahvaya*, betting. (223)

He who does these himself, or causes them to be done by others, secretly or openly, may be punished by the ruler with [punishment] up to that of death, at the ruler's discretion, like cheats and impersonators pretending to follow vocations other than their righteous ones. Or gamblers and betters (*kitawah*) may be banished from the land, like those who practise prostitution under cover of dancing and singing and acting, or those who make and sell spirituous liquors and other such cruel deceivers and spreaders of vice and followers of sinful trades. (224-228).

Sindh Collections Revised—In my note on Non-co-operation in Sindh, I gave figures of collections during my tour, but they were all approximate. Mr. Jairamdas has now sent a detailed account,

which is given below.

| | |
|--------------------|-----------|
| Karachi (roughly). | Rs. 30000 |
| Larkhana. | 1387 |
| Shikarpur. | 17245 |
| Jacobabad. | 1001 |
| Sukkur. | 3600 |
| Rohri. | 1002 |
| Hyderabad. | 7433 |
| Mirpurkhas. | 452 |
| Tatta. | 500 |
| Beda. | 500 |
| Tando Allahyar. | 615 |
| Sindhdwar. | 77 |
| Miscellaneous. | 405 |
| | 64275 |

M. K. G.

EFFECT OF BETTING.

The Editor,

Young India.

SIR,

The *Deccan Herald* has it that the boycott movement is to spread to the forthcoming Race Meetings, and that Indians will not be allowed to visit the Race Course on Race days. If you really intend to do so, God bless you.

My husband used to be an ideal husband, until he was invited by his boss to go to the races with him and unfortunately did so. He took Rs. 10/- with him, met with exceptionally good luck, and brought home Rs. 300/-. But since then he has never won except a few rupees on two occasions, and has often returned home drunk.

May God grant that your endeavour may be crowned with success.

I am sure that what I have stated will be endorsed by many wives who have the courage of their convictions.

Yours etc,
A WOMAN.

[I hope a woman's prophecy will prove true, and that all who prize India's good and the purity of their homes will give up the racecourse.

M. K. G.]

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The Manager, *Young India*,
Elephant Road, Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

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Agents for *Young India* in every place. Apply to the Manager, *Young India*, Khamasa Choki, Ahmedabad.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 25th May, 1921.

THE SIMLA VISIT.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Many are asking why I waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy. Some inquire why the author of Non-co-operation should seek to see the Viceroy. All want to know the result of the interview. I like the rigorous scrutiny of the non-co-operators, who more than Caesar's wife must be above suspicion. Non-co-operation is self-reliance. We want to establish Swaraj, not obtain it from others. Then why approach a Viceroy? This is all good, so far as it goes. And I should be a bad representative of our cause, if I went to anybody to ask for Swaraj. I have had the hardihood to say that Swaraj could not be granted even by God. We would have to earn it ourselves. Swaraj from its very nature is not in the giving of anybody.

But we want the world with us in our battle for freedom, we want the good will of every body. Our cause, we claim, is based upon pure justice. There are certain things we want Englishmen to surrender. All these things need mutual discussion and mutual understanding. Non-co-operation is the most potent instrument for creating world opinion in our favour. So long as we protested and co-operated, the world did not understand us. The erstwhile lion of Bengal in his early days used to relate the story of Englishmen, who asked him how many broken heads there were in India, if things were really so bad as he represented them to be. That was the way John Bull understood best. The other question the world has undoubtedly been asking is:- If things are really so bad, why do we co-operate with the Government in so pauperising and humiliating us? Now the world understands our attitude, no matter how weakly we may enforce it in practice. The world is now curious to know what ails us. The Viceroy represents a big world. His Excellency wanted to know why I, with whom co-operation was an article of faith, had non-co-operated. There must be something wrong with the Government or me.

And so His Excellency mentioned to Pandit Malaviyaji and to Mr. Andrews that he would like to see me and hear my views. I went to see the Panditji because he was anxious to meet me. I hold him in such high regard that I would not think, even if he was well and I could help it, of letting him come to me. As it was, he was too weak to travel to me. It was my duty to go to him. And when I heard the purport of his conversation with His Excellency, I did not require any persuasion to prompt me to ask for an appointment, if His Excellency wished to hear my views. I have devoted so much space to the reason for my

seeking an appointment, for I wanted to make clear the limits and the meaning of non-co-operation,

It is directed not against men but against measures. It is not directed against the Governors, but against the system they administer. The roots of non-co-operation lie not in hatred but in justice, if not in love. Gladstone used to draw a sharp distinction between bad actions and bad men. He was accused of discourtesy for using some very strong expressions about the arts of his opponents. He put up the defence that he would have failed in his duty if he had not characterised their actions as they deserved to be, but he did not therefore mean to convey that his opponents deserved the epithets he had used about their acts. As a youth, when I heard this defence, I could not appreciate it. Now with years of experience and use, I understand how true it was. I have found some of the truest of my friends capable of indefensible acts. For me there are few truer men than V. S. Shrinivas Shastriar, but his actions confound me. I do not think he loves me less because he believes that I am leading India down to the abyss.

And so I hope, this great movement of Non-co-operation has made it clear to thousands, as it has to me, that whilst we may attack measures and systems, we may not, must not, attack men. Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and be slow to impute motives.

I therefore gladly seized the opportunity of waiting upon His Excellency and of assuring him that ours was a religious movement designed to purge Indian political life of corruption, deceit, terrorism and the incubus of white superiority.

The reader must not be too curious. He must not believe the so-called 'reports' in the press. The veil must remain drawn over the details of the conversation between the Viceroy and myself. But I may assure him that I explained, as fully as I knew how, the three claims—the Khilafat, the Punjab, and Swaraj, and gave him the genesis of Non-co-operation. His Excellency heard me patiently courteously and attentively. He appeared to me to be anxious to do only the right thing. We had a full discussion of the burning topics as between man and man. We discussed the question of non-violence, and it appeared to me to be common cause between us. Of that I may have to write more fully later.

But beyond saying that we were able to understand each other, I am unable to say that there was more in the interview. Some may think with me that a mutual understanding is in itself no small gain. Then, in that sense, the interview was a distinct success.

But at the end of all the long discussions, I am more than ever convinced that our salvation rests solely upon our own effort. His Excellency can only help or hinder. I am sanguine enough to think that he will help.

We must redouble our efforts to go through our programme. It is clearly as follows: (1) removal of untouchability, (2) removal of the drink curse, (3) ceaseless introduction of the spinning wheel, and the ceaseless production of Khaddar leading to an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth, (4) registration of Congress members, and (5) collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund.

No fierce propaganda is necessary for solidifying Hindu Muslim unity and producing a still more non-violent atmosphere.

I have put untouchability in the forefront because I observe a certain remissness about it. Hindu non-co-operators may not be indifferent about it. We may be able to right the Khilafat wrong but we can never reach Swaraj, with the poison of untouchability corroding the Hindu part of the national body. Swaraj is a meaningless term, if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection, and deliberately deny to them the fruits of national culture. We are seeking the aid of God in this great purification movement, but we deny to the most deserving among His creatures the rights of humanity. Inhuman ourselves, we may not plead before the Throne for deliverance from the inhumanity of others.

I put drink second, as I feel that God has sent the movement to us unsought. The greatest storm rages round it. The drink movement is fraught with the greatest danger of violence. But so long as this Government persists in keeping the drink shops open, so long must we persist in sleeplessly warning our erring countrymen against polluting their lips with drink.

The third place is assigned to the spinning wheel, though for me it is equally important with the first two. If we produce an effective boycott of foreign cloth during this year, we shall have shown cohesion, effort, concentration, earnestness, a spirit of nationality that must enable us to establish Swaraj.

Membership of the Congress is essential for the immense organisation required for dotting the country with the spinning wheels and for the manufacture and distribution of Khaddar, and for dispelling the fear that membership of the Congress may be regarded as a crime by the Government.

The fifth item, the Tilak Swaraj Fund perpetuates the memory of the soul of Swaraj, and supplies us with the sinews of war.

We are under promise to ourselves to collect one crore rupees, register one crore members and introduce twenty lacs of spinning wheels in our homes by the 30th June. We shall postpone the attainment of our goal, if we fail to carry out the programme evolved at a largely attended meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, and arrived at after full consideration and debate.

THE FRONTIER FRIENDS.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Punjabis living on the Frontier deserve the sympathy of the whole of India. They are exposed to attacks from the neighbouring tribes, they are defenceless, and from all the accounts received by me, the Government seem to give them little or no protection, and now-a-days the rule for the officers, if any one complains, is to refer the complainant to the Ali Brothers and to me. If we had charge of the Frontier, I know what we would have done. We would certainly have died in the attempt to defend the unarmed population of the districts. We would have, if necessary, armed the population for self-defence. But what is more, we would have won over the tribesmen and turned them from marauding bands into trustworthy neighbours. But we have to take things as they are. I assume that the Hindus and the Mussalmans are friendly to one another, and that no Mussalman traitorously helps the tribesmen against his Hindu brother. The Mussalman population this side of the Frontier is in an exceptionally strong position to help.

We must not despair of the tribesmen. We have too often considered them to be hopeless. In my opinion, they are amenable to reason. They are God-fearing. They do not loot merely for pleasure. I believe that they are themselves coming under the influence of the wave of self-purification that is spreading.

I know that the process of reforming the tribesmen is slow and tedious. It provides poor comfort to those that are robbed of their possessions or their dear ones.

The difficulty is to be traced to the same cause—we fear Englishmen, and we have become slaves. We fear the tribesmen and we are satisfied with our slavery, we are thankful that we are protected by the former against the latter. I cannot imagine greater humiliation for a self-respecting man to be dependent, for the safety of himself or his family, on those who he thinks prey upon him. I would prefer total destruction of myself and my all to purchasing safety at the cost of my manhood. This feeling of helplessness in us has really arisen from our deliberate dismissal of God from our common affairs. We have become atheists for all practical purposes. And therefore we believe that in the long run we must rely upon physical force for our protection. In the face of physical danger, we cast all our philosophy to the winds. Our daily life is a negation of God. If then we would but have a little trust in God, i.e. ourselves, we shall find no difficulty with the tribesmen. Only in that case, we will have to be prepared at times to surrender our possessions and under certain circumstances our lives rather than our honour. We must refuse to believe that our neighbours are savages incapable of responding to the finer in man.

Thus consistently with our self-respect there are but two courses open to us, to prepare in so far

as we wish to defend ourselves however weakly against robbery and plunder, or to believe in the capacity of our neighbours to respond to the nobler instinct in man and to endeavour to reform the tribesmen. I apprehend that the two processes will go hand in hand. We must avoid the thirl at any cost, that is, reliance in the British bullet to protect us from harm. It is the surest way to national suicide.

If my writings can reach the tribesmen, I would certainly urge them to leave their predatory habits. In as much as they loot a single man or woman, they belie the teaching of the Prophet whose name they prize above all others and whom they believe to be the messenger of the God of mercy and justice. It is the duty of every Musselman and Ulema who has any influence with these simple men to tell them that if they will play their part in defending Islam from impending danger, the least they can do is to refrain from molesting their neighbours, who have done not only no harm to them but who, whether they are Hindus or Musselmans, are doing their best to safeguard the honour of Islam.

REPRESSION IN THE C. P.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

In each province repression is taking its own special turn. In the U. P. the leaders of the movement are being generally left free. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the author of the circular to the Kisans, is left untouched but the young men who distributed the circulars are imprisoned. Whereas in the C. P. the acknowledged leaders are being picked up one after another and sentenced by an obliging magistracy. The latest instance is that of Mr. Sundarlal. He has undoubtedly a hold on the student world which few possess in the C. P. His is the restraining hand, so far as violence is concerned. But he is a courageous and effective speaker. And therefore, in the opinion of the C. P. Government, he must be put out of harm's way. Here is the charge-sheet against Mr. Sundarlal.

"That you, on or about the 2nd day of March 1921, at Kharangama, by delivering a speech (to about 5000 people), the substance of which was, that the British Government in India was being carried on deliberately and dishonestly with the object of exploiting the country and reducing it to a state of abject poverty and helplessness, and that the British Government is responsible for epidemics, famines, destruction of trade and industries, and all other misfortunes of the country, which is being so systematically marched towards destruction, that the pledges given to Mahomedans have been broken by the Government, tyrannies and atrocities of the worst type were practised in the Panjab, and people have consequently lost all their faith in the Government, and that the only remedy for this state of things was complete extinction of British rule in India, which is to be brought about by the use of the weapon of Non-violent Non-co-operation, brought or attempted to bring into vogue or contempt, or excused or attempted to excite disaffection towards the Government established by the British India and thereby committed an offence punishable under section 124 A of the I. P. C. d within my cognizance."

The charge is clear. It is not for violence ~~done~~ or intended. It is purely for spreading disaffection. There is practically nothing in the charge, which has not been repeated during the past twelve months from a thousand platforms. Indeed it may be stated to be the creed of the non-co-operator to give voice to the popular disaffection towards the Government and to spread it. Disaffection is the very essence of Non-co-operation. It is the belief of every non-co-operator that the Government, meaning always the system, is wicked, it is one of exploitation of India's resources, it has brought on unprecedented pauperism and consequently famine and disease. The system is responsible for India's helplessness. The British ministers have undoubtedly broken their pledges to the Mussalmans. This and much more, every non-co-operator does believe, and therefore seeks by Non-co-operation to destroy the evil. I congratulate Mr. Sundarlal on the prosecution. Indeed I envy the position occupied by him. Let the C. P. Government remove all the other leaders of the movement, and yet they will find that as a result, the disaffection, which they would crush, is all the deeper and surer for their mad and thoughtless repression. The duty of the people is clear. They must go on with their programme of construction and thus prepare for the final triumph. We must keep sane in spite of the Government's madness.

A KARACHI PROTEST.

The Editor,
Young India.

Sir,
It has pained many a Karachi-ite to read your animadversions on Karachi in the *Young India* of the 4th inst. Many of us feel, Sir, that you have unconsciously done our city an injustice. Your remarks, alluding to a local controversy about the accounts of a National School (and not National Schools as you write)—a controversy which was the outcome of a pure misunderstanding of one group of honest workers by another group of equally honest, though a little uncharitable, servants of the Nation—make painful reading. They cast a doubt on the honesty of some upright and selfless people who have sacrificed their all at the altar of the Motherland and who are as much above suspicion as our great leaders, the Ali Brothers, who, too, some time back were the victims of a malicious attack by some people. In the present instance the maligned gentlemen did submit their accounts at two large public meetings and invited all those that required further satisfaction to go to their office and examine their books. The matter was thought to be dead and buried, when it was revived by your references to it in your paper. I fear our adversaries will have an opportunity now to civil at the Movement more freely and exultantly than before. You little know, Sir, how our adversaries—not the Government, nor the Anglo-Indians, but our own kith and kin of the Moderate party, who are at present engaged in "out-heroding Herod,"—turn and twist your

utterances and writings (and your not infrequent warnings and snubs to your followers), and how they detach passages out of their context, and hold up Non-co-operators to ridicule and derision. Extracts from "Hind Swaraj," your article on self-control in sexual matters, your letter to Khalsa Ji, and your threat to go away to the Himalayas if people took to violence, all these are the favourite topics, with which the Movement and its adherents are ridiculed, and your Karachi reflections will add to their number.

As for your disapproval of the hartal organized on the occasion of the Governor's visit to Karachi and your reference to him as one of the best governors, I submit, sir, that despite all that he may have done or not done—which Bombay or Gujarat or the rest of the Presidency may be thankful for, he has done little for Sindh, for which Sindhis may join with you in your generous eulogy of him. There never was greater persecution, more tyranny or worse frightfulness in Sindh than we have today. Perfectly restrained as you are, even your wonted restraint would have been shaken, if you had, during your brief sojourn in Sindh, gone over to Sanjhoro, Nawabad and Thar, and heard with your own ears from the people of those places what they had to say about the blood-curdling sufferings inflicted on them by the police and other Government servants. Thereafter, I assure you, sir, you would have changed your opinion of the Governor, with whose connivance all these frightful things are happening. It was this very Governor, who so far forgot himself as to compare the people with servants and the Government with masters, asking non-co-operators to do what servants ought to do when they are dissatisfied with the conditions of service, viz. "clear out"—clear out of the country. This he is reported to have said to a gathering of "co-operating" notables of Sindh. His latest act of 'goodness' was sanctioning the prosecution of our Swami Govindanand who was subsequently sentenced to five years' transportation. May we not then respectfully ask of you, sir, what heinous sin there was in organizing a hartal on the occasion of his visit to Karachi to demonstrate to him that we of Sindh were no more the dumb driven cattle of old, whom a Lawrence with the indulgent acquiescence of a Willingdon could frighten into submission by his highhandedness? That the people had their heart in the demonstration is borne out by the fact that the hartal was complete—even more complete than the great National hartals of the 6th and the 13th.

Karachi,
8th May.

I am etc.,
Girdharilal Khubchandani.

[I publish the foregoing with pleasure. I have only removed the embellishments. I am sorry if I have done an injustice to any school. It is my duty to publish well-authenticated complaints about public institutions. No amount of misrepresentation about them can damage honest national enterprises. As for the Governor of Bombay, I gave my own impression. I am still inclined to think that His Ex-

cellency does not know the highhanded character of the doings of the Sindh officials. But even if the charges against the Government can be established, I am unable to agree that we may resort to hartal every time an unpopular official visits a place. I should feel sincerely sorry, if the Governor passed the remarks attributed to him. I have believed the Governor of Bombay to be tactful and sober, and it would be a rude shock to me to find that he had made the tactless and hasty remarks reported of him.]

M. K. G.]

EXCUSE—AND WHAT IT MEANS.

V.

DRUGGING THE PEOPLE.

Miss La Motte recently charged the British Government with drugging the world, and Mr. Andrews in reviewing her book left us under the impression that the charge was justified in view of the Government of India's policy. Our charge, more confused but no less grave, is that the Government has been drugging the people of India.

In our last article, we showed that the consumption of intoxicating liquors in India increased considerably every decade. It is not the sales of intoxicating liquors alone that are on the increase. The drug habit—more vicious, more pernicious, and far more injurious than liquor ever, more deadly in its effects on body and mind alike—is no less on the increase. The receipts from opium consumed in India—not exported—and the revenue from drugs—excluding opium—will show the profits of the Government at the cost of the people. Revenue from Drugs in thousands of Rupees.

| Year. | Opium. | Other Drugs. | Total. |
|------------|---------|--------------|---------|
| 1899-1900. | 1,01,81 | 55,60 | 1,57,41 |
| 1904-05. | 1,29,93 | 68,03 | 1,97,96 |
| 1909-10. | 1,48,71 | 98,83 | 2,47,54 |
| 1914-15. | 1,94,99 | 1,40,21 | 3,35,20 |
| 1918-19. | 2,42,35 | 1,59,21 | 4,01,46 |

The revenue from opium, which stood in 1899 at 101 lakhs, had increased to 242 lakhs in 1918-19. The rate of increase too was accelerated towards the end of the period under review. While the opium revenue increased by 47 lakhs in the first ten years 1899-1909, it took only 4 years 1914-18 to show an increase of the same amount, viz. 48 lakhs. The revenue from other drugs, i.e. hemp, ganja, charas etc., increased from 55 lakhs in the year 1899-1900 to 159 lakhs in the year 1918-19. The above statement shows that the revenue from opium alone was one and a half times as much again in 1918-19 as in 1899-1900, and in this period of 20 years the revenue from drugs had nearly trebled. It is interesting to learn that the revenue from drugs alone in 1918-19 amounted to more than the total revenue from opium and drugs in 1899. The drug policy of the Government seems

† The previous articles of this series appeared in our issues of April 13th and 27th, May 4th,

to be more thorough than its drink policy, for there has been a steady, unbroken increase in drug revenue during the last 20 years, and a steady increase in opium revenue for the last 18 years.

We showed in the last article that the growth of revenue was due not so much to increased taxation and the 'prosperity' of the people as to increased consumption. As far as the drug habit is concerned, the following tables will, we hope, be conclusive and nail to the counter the lie that "all considerations of revenue must be subordinated to diminishing this vile habit." Our conclusions are further supported by the so-called "preferential" method of taxation. There is no uniform taxation on drugs—the rates vary in different provinces from a few rupees to thirty rupees or more on the same commodity. *Ganja* was taxed in 1918 Rs. 20 per seer in Bengal and Rs. 10 in Bihar and Orissa; *charas* Rs. 30 in Bengal and Rs. 12 in Assam; opium Rs. 50 in Bengal and Assam, and only Rs. 10 in Sindh. The policy of taxation pursued seems to be that those drugs to which the people are strongly addicted are taxed as high as possible without fear of diminishing the sale; and those drugs which are not in demand are taxed lightly. It seems that the policy of taxation is based on strict business principles: where the sales are certain, the maximum tax is levied, but where the sales are small—or a new article is introduced—they are priced as low as possible to increase the demand and capture the market.

This policy has, of course, enhanced, as it was meant to enhance, the Government revenue. It has also pushed on the sale, in other words the consumption has also increased.

Consumption of Opium in Seers.

1 Seer=2-2/35 lbs.

| Province. | 1901-02. | 1906-07. | 1911-12. |
|---------------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| C. P. & Berar. | 29,988 | 48,372 | 54,857 |
| Madras. | 35,629 | 38,104 | 41,391 |
| Bombay. | 46,001 | 46,864 | 56,278 |
| Punjab. | 52,798 | 59,907 | 63,481 |
| U. P. | 62,301 | 68,864 | 61,810 |
| Bengal, Bihar & Orissa & Assam. | 141,074 | 160,558 | 168,441 |
| All India TOTAL. | 411,913 | 503,521 | 500,156 |

This statement sheds a little light on the actual results of the Government's excise policy. In some places, like the United Provinces, there is no marked difference in consumption; but in others, like the Central Provinces, the figures of the growth of consumption at once arrest attention. Here the consumption of opium increased from

nearly 80 thousand seers to over 54 thousand! The consumption of opium alone in the whole of British India increased in ten years from 411,000 seers to 500,000 seers—an alarming increase for such a baneful drug.

The above statement is a sufficient refutation of the claim that increased rates of taxation act as a deterrent on consumption. Nor do the statistics for the consumption of hemp drugs show any better results. The subjoined statement shows the consumption of hemp drugs like *Ganja*, *Bhang* and *Charas*—the last being specially imported from Yarkand in Central Asia, perhaps the most baneful and deleterious of all drugs.

Consumption of Hemp Drugs sold by retail per 10,000 of the population, in Seers.

1 seer=2-2/35 lbs.

| Province. | 1901-02. | 1911-12. |
|-------------------|----------|----------|
| Madras. | 10.6 | 11.7 |
| Bombay. | 20.6 | 38.5 |
| Bengal. | 32.9 | 35.1 |
| Assam. | 39.0 | 52.3 |
| United Prov. | 93.5 | 64.7 |
| Punjab. | 60.8 | 50.7 |
| C. P. & Berar. | 25.4 | 36.7 |
| Sindh. | 337.5 | 367.3 |
| All India Average | 63.7 | 65.5 |

Here, again, there is a marked increase in consumption, Sindh heading the list with an increase of 30 seers per 10,000 of her population, Bombay is second with an increase of 18.5 seers. The decrease in the United Provinces is by no means a matter for congratulation.

The drug vice had assumed terrible proportions. The *chandy* shops and opium dens of Lucknow had become a disgrace. The misery, the squalor, and the filth, that was to be witnessed there, had been noised throughout the world. The late Mr. Keir Hardie has left his impressions in language that will rouse the pity of the reader for centuries to come, and the noble-hearted Stead joined with him in his cry for abolishing this evil, at least from the Indian Empire. But morals gave way to finance—the habit, it is true, is no longer centred in big cities, but like a canker it is eating into the heart of the nation.

The statements we have given require no explanation; they are pregnant with meaning. We have placed before the reader such statements as will lead him to form a correct opinion of the Government's excise policy and what it means to the people. In our last and concluding article we shall essay to sum up our conclusions and results.

(to be concluded.)

B.